583 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage,
584 which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or
583 they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This
584 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact
212 that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e.
583 documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this
584 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners
562 and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as
593 such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or
586 abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a faih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] [684] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:—(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (tuiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 559 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

595 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants [114] beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most [829] Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

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65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

[114] It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide A remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [593] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and [848] the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 581 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty (*'ar*) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] *akhammas* or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [194] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 524 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 571 431